

Robert G. Neumann
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June 4, 1978

Honorable Zbigniew Brzezinski
Advisor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Dr. Brzezinski:

I want to take this opportunity to commend you strongly on both the form and substance of your remarks on the program "Meet the Press." Frankly, it came as a relief.

It has long been my conviction, gleaned from experience, that diplomacy does not function when it is merely talk, however persuasive the arguments might seem. Rather is diplomacy a finely spun web between talk and action. In my view, there was never much of a chance that the Russians would not constantly probe for soft spots or that they would not try to fill every vacuum they could find in a low-risk manner. There is only one way to stop them, and that is, as you said, when their enterprise bears a cost.

How relentless the Soviet drive is, has recently been demonstrated in Afghanistan. As you remember, I was U.S. Ambassador to that country and I am acquainted with several members of the new government. What I know is not reassuring. Even more important is that several of them, belonging to the former "Parcham" government party, always kept in close contact with the Soviet Embassy in Kabul and prided themselves thereon. It is inconceivable to me that these people would not have informed their Soviet friends well in advance of the coup. One must therefore conclude that the Soviet government saw advantages in that bloody event.

What advantages? Surely not in Afghanistan itself. All modern governments of that country, royal or republican, have been most careful of Soviet concerns and policies. Moreover, the USSR was the largest donor, and all military equipment was Russian. Hence the target of that coup must invariably be sought outside Afghanistan, i.e. in Iran and Pakistan. I need not elaborate, I am sure.

We should therefore consult closely and openly (without overdoing it) with those two "targeted" countries, both to reassure them and to warn the Soviets against further adventurism. In Afghanistan itself we should continue our presence with minimal and only ongoing aid programs. I certainly do not agree with those (in other USG departments) who feel "activist" about our aid program because the new Prime Minister, Mohammed Nur Taraki, said on May 6, "Our relationship with all countries will be based on the amount of their support . . . in

political and economic terms." It is a clever move to demand that the donors prove their support. In my view, the burden of proof is on the new government and until we are satisfied about its nature, we should keep a low profile and tread water.

In a few days I shall take the liberty of writing you another letter about a firm friend of the United States, namely Morocco. Having been instrumental in building up our relationship with that country (1973-76), because of the considerable US interest involved, I am pained to see it deteriorate as it has done.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'R. Neumann', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Robert G. Neumann

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION

Library
NSC S TS SN CO
Log in & Out (X)

TO: ZB

FROM: Neumann, Robert G

DATE: 6/4

Other: _____

SUBJECT: (VIP)

Afghanistan

Expanded Subject (If needed) Views on Afghanistan

	Assoc	Comments	Info	Rec'd	Action Required:
Advance Cv ZB/Aaron					Prepare memo for President. ()
Staff Secretary					Prepare memo for Brzezinski, . . . ()
Western Europe/Canada					Prepare reply for _____ ()
USSR/Eastern Europe					Prepare memo _____ to _____ ()
Far East					Prepare SP. ()
ERC & ROC					Recommendations ()
Mid-East/No. Africa					Concurrence/Comments ()
N/S Issues: Gen/Afr/S. Asia				X	Appropriate Action. ()
N/S: Latin America					Any Action Necessary ()
N/S: UN/LOS/etc al					
N/S: Dev Economics					
Horn of Africa/Social					
Global Issues					
Security Analysis					
Economics					
Intelligence					
Congressional/Press					
Scientific					
Crisis Management					
Washington					
Index					

Due Date: _____

COMMENTS:

Date	To	Sta	Action Required or Taken (Updates)	Due	Copy(s) to
6/28	ZB	X	for sig		
6/29			C bbs sig ltr to Neumann		

Dispatch/Instructions

X PM 6/29

M/F'd

Filed: PA WH NS DH

Supplement or attached

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION

U C S T S N C O
Log in & Out ()

TO: ZB

FROM: Robert J. Neumann

DATE: 4 June

Other: _____

SUBJECT: Afghanistan

Expanded Subject (If needed) _____

	Action	Comments	Info	Rec'd	Copy
Advance Cr ZB/Aaron					
Staff Secretary					
Western Europe/Canada					
USSR/Eastern Europe					
Far East					
PRC & ROC					
Mid-East/No. Africa					
N/S Issues: Gen/Afr/S.Asia					
N/S: Latin America					
N/S: UN/LOS/etc al					
N/S: Dev Economics					
Horn of Africa/Special					
Global Issues					
Security Analysis					
Economics					
Intelligence					
Congressional/Press					
Scientific					
Crisis Management					
Documentation					
File					

Action Required:

- Prepare memo for President. ()
- Prepare memo for Brzezinski. ()
- Prepare reply for ZB or your sig. (X)
- Prepare memo to _____ ()
- Prepare SP. ()
- Recommendations ()
- Concurrence/Comments ()
- Appropriate Action. ()
- Any Action Necessary ()

Due Date: 6 - 24

COMMENTS:

W. Neumann
Tom, Neumann is an ex-Amb. I have attached the WH files on Neumann for your convenience. He is a writer rrrr. Thanks L.

Date	To	Sta	Action Required or Taken (Updates)	Due	Copy(s) to
7/27		C	See 780 400 4		
			for general. H. L. Cox		

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NCS/S PROFILE:

Received: 6-19 Hr: 17

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DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION

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TO: ZBFROM: -Robert S. NeumannDATE: 4 Jun

Other: _____

SUBJECT: Afghanistan

Expanded Subject (If needed) _____

Advance Cx ZB/Aaron	Action/Comments/Info/Rec'd	Action Required:
Staff Secretary		Prepare memo for President. ()
Western Europe/Canada		Prepare memo for Brzezinski ; ()
USSR/Eastern Europe		Prepare reply for <u>ZB or Your Sig</u> (A)
Far East		Prepare memo <u>to</u> _____ ()
ERG & ROC		Prepare SP. ()
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N/S: Latin America		Appropriate Action. ()
N/S: UN/LOS/et al		Any Action Necessary ()
N/S: Dev Economics		
Horn of Africa/Social		Due Date: <u>6-24</u>
Global Issues		COMMENTS:
Security Analysis		<u>appropriate</u>
Economics		Tom, Neumann is an ex-Amb. I have attached
Intelligence		the WH files on Neumann for your convenience.
Congressional/Press		He is a writer rrrr. Thanks L.
Scientific		
Crisis Management		
Fin-Horton		
UNEX		

Date	To	Sta	Action Required or Taken (Updates)	Due	Copy(s) to
6/28	ZB	x	<u>for Signature</u>	7/5	
7/27			<u>check 780 400 4 for</u>		
			<u>final Action</u>		

Dispatch/Instructions

M/F'd

By

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